

239
30
CONSIDERATIONS

Touching the Late

T R E A T Y
F O R A P E A C E

held at V X B R I D G E.

With some Reflections upon the Principall

Occasions and Causes of the

F R V S T R A T I O N

T H E R E O F.

Extracted out of the late Printed full Relation
of the Passages concerning it.

PRINTED AT OXFORD,
By Leonard Lichfield Printer to the
University. 1645.

C/D

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

525 1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725

1725



CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE FRUSTRATION Of the Late TREATY.



NON describing the practises and plots
used by *Gelon*, how to make himselfe sole Ty-
rant over *Sicily*, sets this downe for a ruled
observation upon his Case; *φίλιω ἀπῶσαν τιμὴν δι-*
ναμιν τῷ λαβόντι ἐπὶ τὸν δόντα *ἔσθ*, that, as there is
a kind of *Pleasure*, in the practice and exercise

of any *Power* which is *given*; so, that pleasure, is improoved to
a kind of *Lust* or *Venerie*, no way so much, as, when that *Power*
is exercised and administred, either against the *Fortune*, or a-
gainst the *Person*, of that man, which *gives* it: The beames of
Soveraignety, by like, being as the beames of the *Sunne*, not
so hot, in direct and strait lines, as in *reflections*. And therefore,
as *Pliny* speakes of *Callimachus* (an excellent Painter, but one
that was so curious, that the grace of his work was much aba-
ted by the diligence; for, he could never tell, when he had done
well) that, he was *maximus sui calumniator*, his own worst
detraCTOR: So does *Aristides* observe of an excellent Prince,
administring that Empire with Remission and Favour,

which

which is best sway'd by Justice, and by Power; that he is *ἡμεῶν ἀντιστάτης αὐτῷ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνι*, his own greatest Rebel; For, letting down the string of *Monarchy* never so little, and sinking his own naturall *Rights* and *Interest* in all *High Actions*, to an *inferior communication*, and adoption of other *Councells*, It often hapneth to him, as it does, to many other kind Masters in the World, That, whatsoever he shall, heretofore, have granted, shall be no longer thought on, as a piece of *Grace* and *Mercy*; but, whatsoever He shall, henceforth deny, shall be now lookt on, as an Act of great *Injustice* and *Tyranny*. The sadder testimony, which the *Miseries* of our present *Warre* afford unto this Truth, will save the labour of examining other witnesses; and the sadder testimony, which the *Mistakes* of our late pretended *Peace*, afford, will save the examination of them. Never did *condescension*, (I had almost said, *submission*) in any *Prince*, meet with so much *scorne* and *contempt*, from any *People*; whilst all His former Acts of *Grace* and *Favour*, that should have Instructed their *obediense*, doe but Arme their *Pride*: By receiving, they only learne to *Aske*; and, having gotten a *Power* into their hands, they are now so farre enamoured of *Majesty*, that, if they cannot get her *Scepter*, (as they hope, they shall) They are resolv'd, not to let goe her *Sword*; not unlike, to some young passionate lovers of Beauty, who, when they cannot obtaine the Eldest daughter to Wife, whom they most desire, will match her Sister. They think it not enough to *cousen* us of our *Monies*; now, they *cousen* us of our very *Sences*; and whilst they call upon the World, to behold and see a *Treaty*, They cheat them, with a very *Trick*. They have dealt with this whole Kingdom, now, as they dealt with the Lord *Mack-Quire*, not long since; They have, in a manner, *exercised* a *Common-wealth*, these three or foure years, by *Rapines*, by *Rebellions*, and by all the sad appertenance of *Warre*; and now, They *cut it downe*, as it were in a pretended *Treaty*, for a well settled *Peace*; but, to what end? not, as purposing or intending any such blessing, as *Peace*, unto the Kingdom, that should animate it, as it were, with a new life, and make it happy; but, only, to recover a little, so much of her
exanima-

examined Spirits, as shall make her sensible, and more apprehensive of fresh and new Miseries. For, that in the late *Treaty*, they never did intend a *Peace*, I think, will be easily made appear to any common judgement and understanding, that shall observe and weigh no more, then these foure particulars. First, their *Indisposition* and *Aversion* from *Treating*; Secondly, their *Impotent* and *Imperfect Qualification* of their Commissioners to *Treat*; Thirdly, their *Insolent Expostulations* and *Demands* in the *Treaty*; and Lastly, Their *Inexorable Obduration* and *Deafnesse*, against all *Enlargement*, *Provocation*, or *Reviving* of the *Treaty*.

I. Concerning the first of these, their naturall *indisposition* and *aversion* from *Treating*. It is worth observing, That from the 4th of *July* last, when His Majesty recommended this *Treaty* first unto them, unto the 23^d of *November* last, when their *Propositions* were brought downe to *Oxford*, upon which the *Treaty* was founded, there passed almost five whole *Monthes* betweene. A Small Time, for the grave *Advices* of a Parliament to worke in, in such a poynt full of perplexities, as this, *Whether it be better for the Kingdome, to have Peace, or Warre?* If the question had been onely put, whither *Presbytery* were not better then *Episcopacy*, whereon dependeth but the Ruine of the *Church*? or whether *Democracy*, were not better then *Monarchy*, whereon dependeth, but the Ruine of the *State*? or lastly, whither the *Militia* of the Kingdome, were not safer in their hands, then in the Kings; whereon dependeth, but the Ruine of them both? For the ventilation and agitation of such easie poynts, as these, a matter of *Three Dayes* a peece, is time enough; (for no more would be allowed us, at *Oxbridge*) as if the *Church*, amongst the other new marks of *Primitive Institution*, were in this also, to be reckoned the more like, to *Christ*; for *dying* and *rising* again; for laying down her old *Ceremonious* and *Carnall* Body, and taking up a new, *glorious* and *Spirituall* Body, and all in *Three Dayes*? But when a poynt of so great concernement, as this, comes in debate, *whither it be better to have Peace, or Warre?* A poynt, which, if it miscarry never so little in the stating, may chance endanger *That Lords*

Pension, and this *Lords Place*, may chance endanger the *Tryall* of some of the *Members*, and the *Trade* of more; may chance returne them, to their Originall *three-penny Seates*, that have sat, all this while in great State, upon the *Stage*? It will aske time, to traverse and discusse it; and foure or five monthes Allowance, is truly, with the shortest. All this while, indeed, had they a very hard game to play. They held the *Wolfe* by the *Eare*, as they say; They durst not *hold a Treaty*, when the King offered it, for then, They knew they should loose *Themselves*; and They durst not *let it goe*, when it was offered; for, then they knew they should loose the *People*. Was it not high time, for to bestirre them now, and like true *State-fugglers*, expresse a little skill? First theretore, to make the *People* a little sport in the street, the better to perswade them faster in; They doe give it out, that if the *King* would acknowledge them His *Parliament*, and the *Great Councell of the Kingdom*, then They would *Treat*; as if this were a World for men, τα ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτυρεῖν, to admire *Names for Things*: as if *Theodora* in *Procopius*, having been a common Whore, and now comming to the Court to be *Iustinians* wife, were ever a whit the honestest Woman, for *Euphemia's* name; as if they knew not, how to imitate their dear *Brethren of Scotland*, as *Esops Ass* did the *Dogge*, who, seeing the *Dogge* leap upon his Master, and his Master stroke him, and call him by his Name, thought that He might doe so too, and be as welcome. When this did not take, as was expected, (for I dare say, They stood upon this Denomination, They desired the grant of this *Liberty*, but as Saint *Augustine* in his youth is reported to have desired the gift of *Chastity*, which He had rather God would have denied him) when there was no Remedy, but that *Treat* they must; By meere flight of hand, they draw some *Propositions*, which they will have called, *Propositions for a safe and a well grounded Peace*, like so many Ribbands out of their mouth, the various *Colours* whereof doe so please the *Peoples Eyes*, that they cannot see the *Cordes*; *Propositions*, which the very *Anabaptists* have already *Christned* in their *Child-hood*, and call'd them *Propositions of Peace*; which

which I am confident, They dare not hope to see, at their full
 yeares of Action and Accomplishment, even by a successfull
Warre. And thus, having made the *Quarrell* become the
Decision; having by cleanly conveyance, jugged the true ground
 of the *Warre* on the Kings part, into the Foundation of the
Peace on their part: They hope, they have satisfied the World,
 now, that They are for *Peace*, but that the King is not; And
 they doubt not, I warrant you, to raise good Summes out of the
 People, for the continuance of *Warre*, upon the credit of these
 pretended Intentions, which they had of *Peace*: as your ordi-
 nary *Juglers* of *Small-Wares* use to doe; who will put a pad-
 lock into the poore Country-fellowes mouth, that shall there-
 by suffer some of his Tricks, and then make him pay his penny,
 besides, for seeing them.

II. In the second place, observe their *Impotent and Imper-
 fect Qualification* of their Commissioners to *Treat*: For first,
 whereas, the King invested his Commissioners, or any ten of
 them, with a *full and whole Power*, not only to *Meet and Treat*,
 but also, to *Compose and Conclude a Peace*, obliging Himselfe
 under his own Royall Hand to ratifie whatsoever they should
 doe: The Men of *Westminster* endow their Commissioners,
 but with *halfe a Power*; A *Power to Treat*; but reserve to
 themselves the better *halfe*, a *power to Conclude*; tying up their
 Commissioners onely to such *Instructions*, as, either were already
 given them, or else, from time to time, should be. Now, let
 all the World Iudge, whether these men had any *Love to
 Peace*, (nay, whether they, rather, did not *Fear* it) who, durst
 not trust their owne Members, creatures of their owne election
 and free choyce, with the managery and regulating of it. The
 Kings Majesty trusted his Commissioners with a *power*, which,
 if they had abus'd, they had, indeed, *abus'd the King*, by giving
 and betraying up his *Rights*; but, They had not *abus'd them-
 selves*; nay, they might have done it, no doubt, to their owne
great advantage: But, if They had trusted their Commissioners
 with such a *power*, those Commissioners could not have *abus'd
 the Parliament*, by giving up, and betraying of their *Rights*,
 but withall, They must *abuse Themselves*, and doe it, to their
 owne

Full Narra-
tion, Pag. 50.
N^o. LX.

owne *speciall disadvantage*: And yet, so *zealous* is the King for *Peace*, that it might be settled, that, Those men, who might abuse his Power to his prejudice, are trusted; and so *jealous* are the Rebels of *Peace*, least it should be settled, that Those men, who could not abuse the Parliament-power, but to their owne prejudice, are not. Now: what could the World expect, in order to a *Peace*, from such *Eunuch-Commissioners*? from such persons, who were rather *Parliament-Conduits*, to convey such Answers, and the Reflection of such *Thoughts*, as were hourly put into them; then, *Parliament-Commissioners*, to speak upon occasion, and to utter, what They themselves *Thought*? What could the World look for, from men, who were not so much, as their *Humble Orators*, to use (if not, any Reason, as being *against the usage of Parliament*, yet) a little *Rhetorique* to colour, and set off the businesse; but, were onely their *dumb Oracles*, which opened not their mouth, or ever spake word, but, as the *Devill of Westminster* (who, was brought every day from *London to Uxbridge* in a Cloak-bagg, as the *Holy Ghost*, they say, was once brought from *Rome to Trent*) did usually possesse them, and inspire them. I believe, they durst confide in their *Committee*; but, they durst not confide in their *Commissioners*. The *Grand Committee*, they knew, was, as the *first-running* of this Rebellion; all the *Strength* and *Spirit* of Sedition was in it; which would keep life in their *Designes* and *Purposes*, though at the very last gaspe! But these *Commissioners*, are but like the *second-tapp*, which runnes *smaller* and *smaller*; there might possibly, they thought, be some *relish* and *tincture* of *Allegiance* in some of them; and therefore, they durst not adventure any rich *Commodities*, in a *bottom*, that had, or might have, more *pieces*, then they could imagine. In the meane time, God help the poore common people of this Land, that have trusted these men with their *Fortunes*, *Freedomes* and *Lives*, in managing of a *Warre*, for the space of *three yeares*, and over; who, now dare not *Trust* one another, with either, in settling of a *Peace*, for the space of *three whole Dayes* together.

III. Thirdly, consider their *Insolent Exposulations* and *Demands*

wands in the Treaty. Whereas Warre is ever full of Tumors, Rifings and Swellings; all Treaties have in them, still, a kind of lankenesse, leanenesse, or as it were, a falling away of Desires; (for, if there be not a mutuall condescension on both Sides; if one part onely take, and the other onely give: The Commonwealth may have a clove put in her Mouth, but she hath not cur'd her Lunges, and as one disadvantage does beget a Treaty, so another advantage will break it.) And then, to what one abatement, in what one part, of what one Proposition, did their Commissioners ever condescend? In what one thing, did they goe lesse at Oxbridge, then before they did at Oxford: unlesse perchance you will account it a greater insolence, to desie the King at fifty miles distance from their owne dung-hill, then to doe it at fiftene? Men, that will pretend to Treat, and yet will proceed in no complying, but all in a commanding and Imperious way, as these men did, can no more properly be said to Treat, then the Slave and his Master in Terence, could be said to Fight; when the one with beating, and the other with being beat, at last, They were both sore and weary. Induciae sunt Belli Ferie, saith Varro: Truces and Treaties, are Warre's Holy-daves: and as Religion useth to have her free practice and exercise in the one, so should Reason in the other; and for men to urge onely Demands in a Treaty, which lyes open on purpose, for admitting of Debates, is all one, as for a man to think to make a Syllogisme, of nothing but Conclusions, because he would have no Proposition denied. Besides, if nothing lesse then the granting of all these Demands can obtaine a Peace, (as it should seeme it cannot) I would faine know, what these men propose unto themselves if they should obtaine by Warre? What can They have more to Aske, or the King to Give, unlesse it were his Life? (and if any thing secure that, it must be their Scorne, as preferring that of any Constables before it.) Suppose (I doubt not, but the King of Kings will ever keep them at the distance of a Supposition, and therefore I suppose) that all Successe, which ever yet crown'd impious Attempt, should wait on this Rebellion, and make them Lucky Villaines: (for I find, the even the Rebell Jewes, a Nation condemn'd to Slavery shou

the sacking of *Jerusalem*, were prosperous and fortunate *once*, for *seven* years together, in an Insurrection under the *Par-
fan*, which is more then ever they could boast off, either before or since) Yet I dare say, that in these Propositions, They have endeavoured to lay some particular Obligations upon the King, in the way to *Peace* (as for example, that Imperious Obstruction of the Two Princes *Right* in their *Electoral Dignity*, which is the provision of the 22th Proposition.) which They themselves will never be able to make good unto their Malice, if they should succeed and prosper in this unnaturall *Warre*: And are these fit *Ingredients* for a *Peace*? If they can gaine that, in order to a *Peace* (that is, a *Curbe* and *Bridle* on the *Im-
periall Law*) which they cannot loose by *Warre*; (because they never had it) I should commend the playing of their Cardes, and think they doe just, as some cunning Merchants of their owne Miseries use to doe; that will ordinarily get more by the *Breis*, then they could loose, by the *Fire*.

But you will say, They demanded of the King in order to our Peace, in a manner, but two things; An abolition of *Episco-
pall Government*, for the setting of the *Church*; and a disposall of the *Militia* to Commissioners of their owne Nomination, for the securing of the *State*. And to say truth, They did not burthen, if you mark it, These *two* particulars doe stand out, and shew themselves as the most *prominent pieces* of all their Propositions, as those *Two* teeth did in the *Worme*, which *Cressas* writes of in his *Indian Stories*: which indeed, were all the teeth that *Worme* had: and yet with those *two* Teeth, was that *Worme* able to pull downe any *Camel* or *Oxe*; that happened to come neare him. The bare concession of these, involves a totall *Alteration* in the Government; both of the *Spiritual* and *Civil* State; and all other things contained in their Propositions, *non sunt plura, sed minora*, as *Quintilian* speaks, They are not more *parts* or *Instances*, but lesser *pieces*.

Concerning the abolishing of *Episcopacy*, there passed Arguments with the Divines: one side pressing for it, and the other against it. Those Arguments on our part, that concluded against the abolishing thereof, were drawne, as I have learnt, from

from these three severall Heads: First, from the poynt of *Perjury*, the King having taken a Solemnne *Oath* to maintaine the *Rights & Liberties* of Holy Church: Secondly, from the poynt of *Sacriledge*; The alienation of Things offer'd unto God, being accompanied still with visible, and more then ordinary Judgements from God, either upon the *persons* or *Fortunes*, or *Families*, of those men that are the chiefe Instruments and Actors therein: and Thirdly, from the poynt of *Divine Right*; Episcopacy having been accounted and accepted, as an *Ordinance* and *Institution* of Christ himselfe, by the most Learned men that have lived in all Ages of the Church.

Against those Arguments deduced from the two first heads, there was scarce any thing offered in the shape of a *Reply*, which indeed was not *Ridiculous*, even in the Judgement of their owne Commissioners: for it appear'd, in those Two questions of *Sacriledge* and *Perjury*, Their understanding of the *State* thereof, was like their Conscience of the *Sinne*, little or just none at all. Indeed *little* could be said, by *greater* Clerkes then they: for as the Oratour observes of some Creatures, that are pretty nimble at shifting for themselves, so long as they are in *Cranias* and in *Holes*; who notwithstanding are soone overtaken and caught when they are brought out into an *open Field*, where every man may see them; So there are some pieces of Truth, which will admit of *disquisition*, whither they be so, or no, so long, as they doe but peep now and then, out of the *Pitt*; which, when they are once laid open to the understanding, will beare no Argument; because they carry their owne *light* with them, that does betray them. But as touching the third Head, those Arguments that were instituted in defence of the *Divine Right* thereof, out of the Scriptures, to those, They made a shift to say *something*; and although that *something* were no more like an *Answer*, then an *Ape* is like a *Man*: yet their owne Commissioners, who saw them beaten from their two other *Workes*, and yet were resolved never to give up the *Fort*; abett these Answers, and seeme to wonder, that we were not satisfied therewith. Alas! I cannot blame young *Gamesters* at disputing, if they catch up their *last Snake*.

It was all they had to live on. The two former Heads, that of *Sacredge*, and the other of *Perjury*, they frightened them so, that they durst not look them in the Faces: They were indeed so open, and so demonstrable: But this Third Head of *Divine Right*; because they thought it a *Head in a Bagge*: because They knew it was more *Problematicall*, and would admit colours on either side: therefore they stick close to that, and thinke they can avoyd all Arguments from *Scripture*, that may be brought to prove it; nay, They thinke they can raise as good Arguments out of the *Scripture*, that shall conclude against it. And truly, I would not have any man thinke it strange, for men of contrary Perswasions to have contrary Conceptions upon some *Texts of Scripture*, which *Scripture* they did neither make nor write, and, which *scripture*, is brought to prove and evidence a Truth, perchance, which, either it did not intend at all, or but upon occasion, and by the by; (as it may well happen in the case of *Episcopacy*, and in most other poynts of *Christian Practice*.) Why should any man, I say, wonder at this, that shall observe the very same Men, according to their *different*, and *divided interests*, to have as *divided* and *different understandings*, upon some *Texts of Law*, which *Law*, notwithstanding, they themselves fram'd and made, and which *Law* was brought to prove and evidence a Truth, which was one of the very *Reasons*, why that *Law* was made: (as it happened afterwards in the Case of the Kings Power in making a *Cessation* with *Ireland*, whither it were limited, or whither it were not limited by the *Statute made this Parliament*; and as it will happen in most other poynts of *Civil Right*.) Not that I can think these Arguments brought on either side, to be of equal worth and strength (for as it appeares by all their Commissioners *Answers* which I have read, so does it appeare by some of their Commissioners *Arguments*, which I have heard, that They had no Power so to Conclude) but that I thinke *Ignorant Men*, in pursuing of any Truth, to be like *ignorant Hunters* in pursuance of their Game; who whatsoever they can light on, by the by, lay hold on strait; and if they come to sell it, will be sure to aske much more then it is worth, or then any other man who knowes what

Full Narration. No.
CXLIV.
CXLV.

Ireland.

what the Thing is will give, *Imbecillitate sua pretium remittentes*, as he saies; having no better measure of the things worth, then their owne *weaknesse*; Or, that I thinke, with Saint Hilary, *quot voluntates, tot fides*; there are as many severall *Faiths*, as there are, *Willes*; and, when men of severall engagements, fall into heats and disputes, in poynts, which are not mathematically *demonstrable*; their severall *affections* ordinarily will improve into severall *opinions*, and they will judge of things, not according to *other mens proofes*, but their own *prepossessions*: And therefore, for my part, I have ever thought most of our *Divinity Disputation*, but a kind of *Church-Duell*; which does oftner declare, which is the *Stronger* side, then, which the *Truer*; & so much the more often, by how much, it may fall out easily, that the truth may be on *neither*. But if men will proceed to Disputes and Arguments, (which, seldome, or, never, is, to any purpose; for, either, those persons, at whose request, or for whose satisfaction that Disputation is instituted, are able to judge of the solidity and strength thereof, or they are not: If they are not able to judge of it, they receive no good by it; and, If they are able to judge, they do not need it) it is a requisite *expedient* for hopefull proceedings in that kind, That, men proportion their *Proofes* according to the nature and condition of those *Propositions*, which they are to *prove*: If the matter, be a *Matter of Beliefe*, the *Scripture* is the best *proofe* thereof; because the *Scripture* exactly conteynes all *matters of Faith*; but if it be, a *Matter of Practise*, the *Scripture* is not the best *Proofe* thereof; because, as it containes not exactly, all *Matters of Forme*, so, neither is there any reason, why it should containe them, it being the principall, if not the sole end of *Scripture*, to transmit those *Lawes of Faith* unto the world, by which, it should be governed: and not, to transcribe the *Formes, Institutions, and Difference in degrees*, of those Officers, who, then did, and ever were, to governe it. Nor does it a whit impeach the *Divine right* and Institution of *Episcopacy* in the *Church*, founded in the first Apostles, if there should chance to be found, no *particular Text* in *Scripture*, which, in *expresse termes*, does settle

and establish that *Foundation*: no more, then it does impeach the *Right of Monarchy*, in a *State*, founded in the *Roman Empire*, or, in any other *Kingdom* of the *World*, a thousand yeares agoe, because in the *Code*, or *Digest* of those *Fundamentall Lawes*, by which those *Kingdoms* have been so long govern'd, there is no particular *Act* or *Law*, made, in direct wordes, which does establish and ordaine, that *Imperiall* and *Monarchicall* *Forme of Government*. And therefore, there is no more reason in the world, when a man sees, or may see, that the whole *Church of Christ* in all ages, hath ever acknowledged, and observed a difference of *Order* between a *Bishop* and a *Priest*, why, he should inferre, that at first, a *Bishop* and a *Priest* were all one, no doubt, because the word *Presbyter*, in *Scripture*, is sometime given to both: Then there is, when he reads, or may read, that the *Church of the Jewes* in all ages, never had but *One High-priest*; Why, he should inferre, that at last, there were *Two High Priests* in that *Church*, no doubt, because *Annas* and *Caiphas*, are both called *High Priests* together, in *Scripture*.

I speake none of this, as if I thought the *Divine Right of Episcopacy* could not be prov'd by *Scripture* (for I test most assured, it is as cleerly prov'd from thence as the *Observation* of the *Lords Day*: which particular, I rather doe insist upon, because, in these *Propositions* for a well settled Peace, There is *One Act* desired to be passed, for the *Abolishing* of the *One*, and *Another Act* desired to be passed, for the *Observation* of the *other*; when all knowing men must confesse, their *Interest* and *Tenure* in the *Scripture*, to be *equal*, and the *same*.) But because I think, that *Scripture* is not the right *Topick*, out of which men ought to deduce and draw those *proofes*; if it finde but any *footing* in the *Scripture*, the *Churches* universal *Practise* of such a *Prose*, is the best *Proof* that can be made, of such a *Practise*; In regard, that *Matters of Faith* and *Good Life*, as they are *Essentiall* to the *Church*, so, they are *Univocall*; and, the *Scripture*, as it delivers them, *once*, so it delivers them, *never*: but, *Matters of Forme*, and *Government*, if they should be confest *Essentiall* to the *Church*, in their *Institutions*; yet, are they not alwaies *Univocall*, in their *operations*; but of necessity

necessity must *rise* and *fall*, and, either *admit* of growth, or
seem to doe so, according to the *conditions* and *changes* of time,
 that will *suise* best unto them. Besides, the condition of the
Mysticall Body, the body of the *Church*, as considered in her
Infancy, to my thinking is not much unlike to the condition of
 the *Naturall body*, the body of Man, as considered in *Hu*; and
 the severall operation of *orders* in the *one*, is not much unlike
 to the severall operation of *saules* in the *other*; now we know
 that the *reasonable saule*, albeit a saule of another order, then the
sensitive (being derived from a nobler extraction, and origine)
 and infused from the beginning into the Body, no lesse then it,
 yet, it exercises little or no *distinct* operations in that body from
 it; till such time as that body come to yeares of understanding,
 where *Reason* may have room and scope to work in, at her plea-
 sure: In like manner that *Order of Episcopacy* might be plant-
 ed from the beginning in the Church, and be superinduc't up-
 on this order of *Priesthood*, as a *distinct* and *nobler* Order from
 it; and yet, in the *nanage* of the Church, there may be little or no
distinction found in the Scripture, of Administration of those
Orders; which then began most eminently to appear, when that
Body of the Church was a little more grown, and come to yeares,
 and had *Instruments* fitted, and *Organs* well prepared for the
execution thereof. Furthermore it would be considered, that
 there is something almost in every *pratticall* Text of Scripture,
 like to that which the Painters call the *Aire* in every *Face*; it all
 the *parts* of a Face, be taken in their right feature and proporti-
 ons, and that *Aire* be not taken (which *Aire* is a kind of *center*,
 wherein all *consents* of *similitude* and *likenesse* meet) one man
 will confidently pronounce the Face is like, and another will
 as confidently pronounce as he, that it is *not*; and both believe
 themselves to be very right in *judgement*; If the *sense* of the
 words of any Text be taken and understood, according to the
partiall and *particular* acceptation of those words in other pla-
 ces; and then the *Generall Aire*, the *Scope* and *Harmony* of the
whole Text, with that which went *before*, and that which fol-
 lowes; The Relation and Interest which it hath to *persons* and
places, or that *cast of the looke*, as it were, which it hath upon
 some

Some *Times, Usages, and Customs*; if all this be not taken, and understood, as well: One man, may deduce *one conclusion* from that text, and another man, *another crosse* to that, and both think themselves to have inferred *justly*. No mervaille then, if these men, should produce *some Texts* of Scripture, that colour for *Presbytery* to those mens Apprehensions, that are resolv'd before, *to set it up*: and no mervaille, if they produce *other Texts*, that look asquint upon *Episcopacy*, to those mens understanding, that are resolv'd before, *to pull it downes*. For, when the *Aire* of the Face, is mist, it is no longer, a *Picture*, but a *Phancy*; and, whom, every man is pleas'd to think it like, like to them, it is: and, when the *Aire* of a Text is mist (as they, generally, either, never goe about to take it, or, ever misse it) That text, is like the *Children of Israells Mauna*, which will tast, to every man, according to the particular affection and inclination of his own palate; or, like *Pauso's Horse*, which was, ever ready made, whither you would have the *Head* or *Heeles* stand uppermost, all was one. And, therefore our Commissioners chalkt them out the readiest way, to detect the *unlawfulnesse* of *Episcopall Government*, if there were any; when, *They desired to be informed by them, when, and where any Nationall Church since the Apostles time, was ever governed without it*. For, if they pretend that Government to be *unlawfull*, and yet, can shew *no other*; it is a shrewd argument, that they doe but *pretend* it; For, it can hardly be imagined, that Christ should ordaine but *one only lawfull* forme of Government in his *Church*, that was to abide, *even unto the end of the World*: and, that, that *Forme* should so soon decay and perish, as that there should not remaine the least foot-step or impression of it in his *Church*, for the whole space of *Fifteen hundred years* together. But their Commissioners will not heare of this; They tell us, that, what our Lords did mention concerning a *Nationall Church*, is a new *Question*, which

Full Narrati-
on p. 56. n^o
LXIX.

1400.
Their Reply
21. Feb. p. 57.
n^o LXX.

hath not, as yet, been any part of the subject of their Debate.
Good Lord! how well acquainted are these men with *Congregationall*, and *Classicall*, and *Synodicall*, and *Nationall Assemblies*, which are for them: and, what a strange matter they make,

make, of a *Nationall Church*, because, it is against them? This is but just, as I have known some beggars, who will make you believe they do not understand scarce a word of *good English*, because they find, they can get more with *Gaming*. Well: They are willing for all this, to believe *Episcopall Government* *unlawfull*: and I make no question (at least no *new Question*, for I believe, it is already stated) but that, They looke to be well paid for their opinion. But this I must tell them; I would not have them *found* that *unlawfulness* on Scripture; or I would have them *finde* it; For, as concerning all their arguments out of Scripture, which have hitherto been brought against it, I will say no more but this; That they have concluded no more against *Episcopacy*, even to those very persons that have such unequal thoughts, and so prejudicate objections to that sacred *Order*; Then they may conclude, when they please against the keeping of the *Lords Day*, against the *Baptizing of Infants*, against *Originall sinne*, or in a word, against any one Article, either of *Christian Practice* or *Beliefe*, established in the Church; when the *disbeliefe* of any one of these Articles is like to prove as *advantageous* and *beneficiall* to them, as the *disbelieving* of this *Episcopacy* hath done.

Concerning the *Militia*, their demands were *Two*, First, They demand the *sole Nomination* of all the Persons to be *entrusted* *therewith* wholly to themselves, not allowing the King, not only the *Power of nomination* of one man in Twenty, but not so much as the *Power of exception* against one man in Twenty: Secondly, they demand the *Continuance* of his *Power* during pleasure, and *without any limitation* or *restriction* of Time. And truly, when I met with this, I began to think, that in short time, the Rebels would invest the King with such a *Prerogative*, as *Agaiusarides* reports of the *Sabeans*, that they allowed their King: So long as he kept close, and within his *Chamber*, it was lawfull for him to doe any thing, what he would, but if once he stir'd a foot, but out of his *Palace*, it was then lawfull for them to *stone* him. His Majesty's most *Loyall* and most *Humble Subjects*, will be content to spare him a little *Honour*; but they will be sure to clip, and pare him to the quick,

quick, of all His Power. So that upon the whole matter, the Case is this. *John a Nokes* and *John a Stiles* fell out, and fought; and having drawne some blood one from another, at last, they were contented to put up their Swords, and be made Friends, Provided, that both their Swords might be put into such hands, as might prevent all further quarrelling betweene them. *John a Stiles*, he proposes that both their Swords may be put into *Two* friends hands; that the *ones* Friend may keep the *one*, and the *others* Friend the *other*. But *John a Nokes*, (though causelessly he drew first on *John a Stiles*, which meant him no harme yet now,) afraid least *John a Stiles* should doe him mischiefes, will have both the Swords put into *his owne* hands; or He will not be Friends. Now certainly, though upon severe examination of this off'rd Composition, there be no *reall* security founded upon that motion, even of *John a Stiles* (for if the *Two* Swords should be put into *two* Friends hands as he desires; The *Danger* might be *more*, because *They* might fall out also, as the *other* did before them: But the *Security* is *not*, because *two* Persons are no more *secure* against *two*, then *one* against *one*) yet there is more *Imaginable* security, that is, Men will be more apt to *conceive* and *imagine*, that *John a Stiles* intended and meant honestly, as equally, and as indifferently to provide for both their securities, as possibly upon the suddaine he could, in *this* His way; then They can *imagine* or *conceive*, that *John a Nokes*, could intend or meane in *that* way of His. And yet this is the way the Parliament will take, or none; Vnlesse they may have the *whole* Power of the *Militia* put into the hands of such Persons amongst themselves, whom they shall nominate; They will not heare of *Peace*. Now if the Nomination of Commissioners for the *Militia* be devised; as the fittest Instrument in order to *security* of Sides, as no doubt it is; reason will, that, as the *Fears* are equall and reciprocall on both sides; so should the *securities* be also: And then what reason is there in the world, that the King should not as well desire the *sole* Nomination of all the Commissioners of the *Militia*, in order to His better *Security* from *Them*; as that They should desire the *sole* Nomination of those Commissioners, in order to *their* better *security*.

rity from Him? Oh! there is great Reason, they will tell us;
 and such a Reason that we little thought on; For *This Power* Full Narra-
 of the Commissioners, whom they desire to Nominate, without tion, Pag.
 the King, is not to be exercised by them until a Peace be conclu- 92. No.
 ded upon the Treaty, and then His Majesty will be fully secured CXXXVI.
 by the *Laws of the Kingdome*, and by the duties and affections of
His People. If I understand ought, the Result of that which
 is here laid, is this: There are two wayes of securing both the
 King and the Kingdome; when the Peace is once settled, from
 those mutuall Feares and Jealousies, which the one hath of the
 other; and they are these: First the sole and whole Nomination
 of such a number of Commissioners, that shall have power over all
 the Forces of this Kingdome both by sea and Land: that is one
 way; and Secondly, The benefit and use of the *Laws of the*
Land, together with the Duties and Affections of the People
 to guard ones Person; that is another way. Now the justest and
 most equall way, to divide this double Security between both
 Parties, against their double Feares, is this: For Them to take
 the Sole Nomination of all Commissioners that shall have Power
 over all the Forces of the Kingdome, both by Sea and Land; and
 so secure the Kingdome this way: and for Him to betake him-
 selfe to the *Laws of the Land*, and the Duties and Affections
 of His People; and so secure Himselfe that way. But what if
 this way be neither just nor equall? I have a just suspicion up-
 on it, which I wish they would remove; For I demand: This
 Security, which the *Laws of the Land*, and the Duties and
 Affections of the People can give, either it is greater then that
 other Security, which consists in the Sole Nomination of Com-
 missioners, or it is lesse, or it is even, and as commensurate in all
 parts and proportions, as any two things can be. That both
 these Securities are equall on all parts, I believe, they will not
 say; because I know, they never measured them; for albeit,
 they may reckon and number the strength of their *Horses*, and
 their *Armes*, yet they may not reckon and number the Affec-
 tions and Hearts of the People: or if they have numbered
 them, and find them equall on all partes; I hope I may say it
 not *incivillity*, and I know They must say, It is not *Unjust*, or

two Equall Securities, for the King to Choose, and then the matter is ended. But if they say, it is either greater or lesse, then are the King and the Kingdom, still in the very same Insecurities, Feares, and Jealousies which they were before; and to these wayes which they have found out for mutual securities, do not reach their Ends; and by consequence are not in reason to be insisted on. For if the Laws of the Land, and the Duties and Affections of the People be a lesser security to the King, then the sole nomination of Commissioners is to the Parliament; then is not He so secure from Feares and Jealousies from Them, as They are from Him. And if they be a greater security, then are not they so secure from Feares and Jealousies from Him, as He is from Them. So that, take these wayes how you please, and they must needs prove either impossible or uselesse; uselesse, if one of the securities be greater or lesse then the other, for then they doe not equally proportion the Securities unto the Feares: Impossible, if once they goe about to number the Hearts and Affections of the People, and reckon upon them: which commonly the greater sort of People themselves doe not truly know.

And as it is against Reason, this Demand of theirs, so is it against Law: The Power of Warre and Peace, and the Managery of the Civill Sword, being so rivetted and incorporated into the Crowne, by the Fundamentall Lawes of this Land, that without manifest Alteration in the very Foundation of this Government, it cannot be distinguished and divided from it. When They are told of this, They tell us againe, that this Demand of theirs, contains no such Alteration, as we speake off, but Desires that, which by the Wisedome of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes is judged necessary at this time, for the security of His Majesties Kingdomes, and preservation of the Peace now to be settled. But if these words admit of any, they must admit of one of these foure senses; and let us see, whither any one of them make a true Answer to that which hath been said. For first, either they must meane, that to have had a Power, and now to have it not, is no Alteration, (and surely that is false; for if a motion from being such, to a not being such, be a proper Alteration, as the Philosopher telleth us, it is; Certainly, to have the Sole

Sole Power of the Sword in ones bandes, is a being such; and to have no Sword in ones Power, is a not being such; and so by consequence an Alteration.) Or Secondly, they must meane, that such an *Alteration* in the Government of the State, which both the *Parliaments* of the Kingdome desire, is not to be tearm'd an *Alteration*; (and truly that is true; so long, as both the *Parliaments* only desire it: but when They obtaine that desire, then it is as perfect an *Alteration*, as if it were made by *Force* and *Violence*: as a man does as truly loose his money when he is cheated, as he does when he is rob'd: and then 'tis false again.) Or in the third place, Their meaning must be, that, that *Alteration* which is for the better, namely, the preserving of the Peace, and securing of the Kingdomes, and is judged necessary to that end, by the wisdom of both the *Parliaments*, that, is not to be call'd an *Alteration*; (and if the other sense be false, this cannot be true: for it is all one, in respect of the *Truth* and *Nature* of an *Alteration* in the *Civill Body*, whither it be done in *Passion*, and for the worse, or in *Judgement*, and for the better: as it is all one, in regard of the *Truth* and *Nature* of an *Alteration* in the *Naturall Body*, when he that was well the last minute, and is ill the next, whither he be made so sick, either by his *Sunset* or his *Physicke*.) Or last of all, They must meane, that They doe not know what an *Alteration* is: (and that may be *True*; but supposing the *Wisdom* of the *Parliament*, it were better for their credit to be *False*.) And then, take these words of theirs, in any one of these foure senses, which you please, and they signifie just nothing in the way of a true Answer to that objection concerning *Alteration*, which our Commissioners urg'd them with before: For the words taken in either of the three first senses, doe indeed containe an Answer, but that Answer is not *Truth*: and taken in the last sence, They may indeed containe a *Truth*; but that *Truth* is no Answer.

This Demand notwithstanding so sencelesse and unreasonable in the very substance of the thing, receives a new accession of Insolence, from the circumstance of time: For (as if their Sovereignty could have no soule, unlesse that soule were *Immortal*.) First, they desire this nomination of the Commissioners,

Full Narrati-
on, p. 88. n^o.
CXXXI.
21. Feb.

without any limitation or restriction of Time; and Secondly they desire it for seven yeares at least, and after the expiration of that terme, to be soiled and exercised in such manner, as shall be agreed on by His Majesty, and the Two Houses of Parliament in England, and by His Majesty, and the Estates of the Parliament in Scotland, and was otherwise. So that for these seven yeares it seems they will proceed with the King, as God did with Nebuchad-nezzar for his seven times; He shall converse with Beasts, (that is, He shall be no better then any one of the Beasts of the People, as the Prophet speaks,) His Royalty, and His Imperiall Rights all this while being taken from Him; which after those seven yeares, like Nebuchad-nezzars understanding, shall revert and return safe again unto Him. And is not this a gracious condescension? Is not this a kind relaxation of the former Rigour? are not these men willing to comply, and to do any thing for Peace? I will not say that either this is a condescension, and a complying on their parts, or that nothing is; but I will say that either this was a condescension and complying on their parts, or that nothing was; for in all those Twenty dayes of the Treaty, which should have bin intended by both sides, for reciprocall abatements of the rigour of their first Desires, They never receded from any one part of any one of their Propositions, but only in the particular of this Limitation, and eighteen of the twenty dayes were full elapsed and expired, before ever they expressed *abus*. But what if these Oraculous words of theirs should have a double sense? what if that which we are willing to take, as a *little* Grant should prove greater Grievance? I think if these words [And after the expiration of the said terme, the Militia of the Kingdome to be soiled, and exercised in such manner, as shall be agreed on by His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, &c.] be well weigh'd and examined, although they may seem to return the King, after His seven yeares Apprenticeship, unto his Liberty againe; and as it were make Him Free, yet they will signifie no more in order, to any such true Freedom, then in that old expression of [For ever and a day] that Day, there signifies in order unto any true time; For if the King shall not exercise His own Legal Power of the Militia, when those seven yeares

yeares are expired, *Otherwise*, then by both *Houses of Parliament* shall be agreed on (as their words expressly say, he shall not) what is the difference between His condition, during these *seaven yeares*, and His condition when those *seaven yeares* shall be expired; but only in this, that for *seaven yeares* He shall have no Power *with them*; and after those *seaven yeares* He shall have no Power *without them*; so that either way He is bereaved of His *Right*; and for ought I can see yet, more this *last way*, which is proposed in the way of *Concession*, and *Favour*; then he is, the *first way*, which is imposed by way of *Oppression* and *Rigour*. For the King, having no Power *with them*, but being excluded for *seaven yeares*, from the nomination of Commissioners, hath thus much of Liberty left him, that he is not oblig'd, either to God, or *Man*, to answer for those miscarriages of State, that shall happen in the mean while, by Persons that may abuse their Trust; and although he suffer something, yet all this while, he is sure, that He shall *Do* nothing, *against his owne will*; But the King having no power *without them*, that is, having his Power ordered, as it is like to be, when his *Seaven yeares* are out, by both *His Houses of Parliament*, and [*OTHERWISE*] *not to be exercised*; may be reduced to this strait and necessity, that if both *His Houses of Parliament* shall agree upon some *Person* notoriously disaffected to His Majesties *Rights* or *Government*; who thereby, perchance, shall have merited some marke of His *Displeasure*; The King notwithstanding, shall be compelled and enforced, to *Do* something *against his owne will*; and to set upon such a man a speciall stamp of *Confidence* and *Favour*; Which indeed, rather is a piece of *infelicity*, then a part of any *Power*; as we call it *Power* in God, whereby he is able to *doe any Thing*; and yet, doe not call it *Power* but *Weaknesse*, even in God himselfe, if he should be able to *sinne*.

And having thus extracted all the *Pure Metall* of the Crowne, by their demands; having thus extenuated and annihilated all the Kings Power of *making Warre*; they begin to bethink themselves, of disposing the *Ally* too, for their best advantage; They will not leave Him, so much, as a Power
neither,

Full Narrati-
on, p. 95. n^o.
C XXXVI.
7. Feb.

neither, of *Making Peace*. For they demand, *That the Cessa-
tion of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels, without con-
sent of both Houses of Parliament be pronounced voyde; And
that the Prosecution of the Warre in Ireland, be settled in both
Houses of Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both
the Kingdoms*: Good God! That these ill men should not be
content to rob their King of all His *Power and Royalty*; that
they should not be content to render Him no *True King*; But
their petulant insolence must attempt His very *Faith and Ho-
nesty*; But they must attempt to render Him no *True Man*?
As if they had a purpose to constraîne Him, to a needlesse
breach of *Promise* now; that with more colour, and better
credit, hereafter, they might *distrust* Him; as they report of the
daughter of *Sejanus*, who was first purposely *ravish*d, that af-
terwards, she might be put to *death*; because being a *Virgin*, by
the Law she could not *suffer*? For this particular demand of
making the Cessation voyde, was made in the moneth of *Februa-
ry* last; and that very *Cessation voyded* of it selfe, expired in the
Moneth of *March*; Now if the Kings Commissioners had a-
greed to the latter part of this Demand, *the settling of the prose-
cution of the Warre in both Houses of Parliament*, for the time
to come; what could the voyding of this *Cessation* contribute
to the current of their *designe* (but onely by way of scandalous
Reflexion upon His Majesties *breach of Faith and Promise*)
when that *Cessation* would voyd it selfe, would exhale and ex-
pire of it selfe, before ever those *Designes* of theirs could be
ripe for any prosecution?

I confesse, when I look well upon it, me thinkes the true
state of this question, concerning the *Irish Cessation*, is the
same with the state of that question in *Plutarke*, concerning
Demonides his shoes. *Demonides* was a lame impotent man,
and therefore had his *shoes* made very *wide and easy* for his
feet; Those *shoes*, when a cunning youth had stolne one day
from him, and some of his neighbours comming in, and wil-
ling to extenuate and alleviate his Losse, that he might be the
lesse affected with it, had told him, that they were but a *scurvey*
paire of claustrerly shoes, and very *naughtily* made; *Demonides*
replied,

replied, that the *shoes* indeed, were no very good *shoes*; but they were very good *shoes* for *Demonides*, because a better paire would not have fitted his fore feet halfe so well. In like manner, it may be said of this *Cessation*; That indeed, it was no very good *Cessation*; because peradventure other *Cessations* heretofore, have been made, according to the more punctuall Rules of *Honour* and *Advantage*; But it was a very good *Cessation* for *Ireland*; because the condition of her infirmity was such, that she could admit no better. For when the Chiefe *Princes* and *Officers* of *State*, when the chiefe *Commanders* and *Officers* of the *Campe*, when both of them shall complaine unto the King, of the miserable condition and posture of *Ireland*, for very want of *Food*; and advertise Him, by their Letters, of her present inabilities to maintaine the prosecution of a *Warre*; what could the King doe more, in discharge of His duty both to God and Man, then to admit of a *Cessation*, in order to a present *Peace*? The *Houses of Parliament* it seems would not help them at all; (for after *Six months* expectation, they send them provision of *Victualls*, for some *Seaven daies*, as if they purposed a *scorne* to the Miseries of their poore Brethren, rather then a *succour*.) And the King could not help them better, then by giving his *Approbation* to a *Cessation*, which the *Publique Ministers* of the *State of Ireland*, had ordered and assented to, there, as fittest for the present condition of that Kingdome; and so shew Himselfe, at least willing to *respice* that Cause as well as He could, which He well knew himselfe unable, to *Revenge*.

Now in *Inducij's Bellum manet, quamvis Pugna cesser*, say our Books; So long as the Parties engaged in a *Warre*, proceed no further then *Cessations*, and *Truces* for a time, There is only a *suspension* of the *Fight*, there is no *suffocation* of the *Quarrell*; which may better be resum'd again, when they that manage it, shall have out-grown those necessities and encombrances, which compell'd them first unto it; so that if this *Cessation* were Destructive to either of the Parties, it is most like to be so to the *Rebels*; who were not in that visible Distresse, and want of all sorts of Provision, as the *Protestant* party was; and if the condi-

Full Narrati-
on, p. 99. n^o.
CXLV.

tion of the protestants were the worse condition when the Cessation began, because the actuall necessities of both sides were unequal, and *We* wanted more then *They*; certainly the condition of the Rebels cannot be the better condition, when the Cessation shall end; because the possible supplies of both sides must be confessed equal, and *They* can be no more releiv'd, then *We*. Notwithstanding all this, this Cessation of Ireland is exploded, and exclaim'd against by both Houses of Parliament, as destructive to His Majesties good Subiects, and to the Protestant Religion, and only for the advantage of the Popish Rebels. Indeed I do read, that there may be Destruction in a Cessation; for the Prophet David calling all men to behold the works of the Lord, and what destruction he hath wrought upon the earth; in the 46th Psalm; makes his first instance in the poynt of a Cessation, in the next words that follow, *He maketh Warrs to cease.* vers. 9. But the Prophet had a Mysticall meaning in his words; and so no doubt have *They*; For surely they mean that a Cessation is destructive to the good Subjects of Ireland, just in the very same sense, that the want of Victuals is a Preservative for them; and, if that be not a mysticall sense, I know not what is. But if these men would speak plaine, they would say, That this Cessation in Ireland is Destructive to His Majesties ill Subiects here in England, who cannot have that convenient colour now, to raise Forces and levy Monies, for the suppression of a Rebellion there; which Monies and Forces, they may convert, (as heretofore too often they have done) to the feeding and fomenting of their own Rebellion here. And this is evidently the Reason, why they so desire a prosecution of the Warre in Ireland, and demand the settlement of that Prosecution in their own hands; that having once a Power, of impropriating all the Succours of Ireland, to their own Rebellious ends and purposes, they may with better advantage, mannage the Warre here in England, against the King; when they shall have Two swords for His One; and may fight against Him, not only with His Enemies, but with His Friends.

For it both Houses of Parliament, intended only the prosecution of Justice upon those accursed Rebels, and not some vicious

ious ends of their own, no lesse accused then they, (for the grounds of all Rebellions are alike; and if there be any just ground for one, no ground is unjust, that is laid for any other) Certainly the King would be thought on, as a fitter instrument of execution; (whither He be considered as King, or as one single Person, who can have but one will, and so cannot differ from himselfe) then a collected body, made out of many Persons of two Kingdoms, (those of each Kingdom having a negative voyce) who thereby may have Two willes, and so differ amongst themselves; whereby the main businesse must needs receive obstruction. Neither does that avoid this inconvenience, which these men say; namely, That in case of any disagreement in the Committee, the two Houses of Parliament are to prosecute that Warre; unlesse they can imagine any man so simple, as not to think it as possible for the two Houses of Parliament to disagree, as for one Committee; Besides, when the Parliament had a mind to settle the Militia of England for the preservation of the Peace, in the hands of some Commissioners of their own naming, and would exclude the King, from so much as the nomination of any one amongst them; They give this, as a reason of their desire; That if the Commissioners should be severally named, as the King would have had them; probably they would have acted according to their severall interests, and the warre thereby would be more easily revived; And is it not as probable now, if the prosecution of the Warre in Ireland should be settled in a Committee of two severall Kingdoms, England and Scotland, that the Persons of that Committee, should have severall interests, and ends in the carrying on of that Warre, according to their severall Necessities or Ambitions, and so what one aymes at, as a Conversion, the other may intend, as Conquest? by which meanes, the Warre either will be retarded, or, which is worse, exchanged? I doe not asperse either of the two Nations with the unworthinesse of these Designs; But I must needs say this: When a great mans House is on Fire, which he is able to quench, with the servants help of his own Family, and yet strangers will be pressing in whether he will or no; It is an even wager, if Two men come in together

Full Narration, p. 120 n^o.
CL XXIV.

Full Narration, p. 92 n^o.
C XXXVI.
22, Feb.

to *Halpe*; but *One* of them comes to *Steale*.

If this *Committee* of both *Kingdoms* should have but *one* and the *same* end, and that end, a good one: The quenching of the *Fire* of that *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, and the reducing of that unhappy *Kingdome* to His Majesties *Obedience*: yet certainly, reason would not, that the *prosecution* of such a good end, should be put into the hands of such *State-Empericks*, who will goe about to cure a burnt Finger, by putting it into another *Fire*: who thinke to quench the flames of that *Rebellion there*, by blowing up a greater *Rebellion here*. And let no man wonder, that I call this *Rebellion* a greater: For as the *Casuists* use to say, That, when a man *Swears*, the greater the subject-matter of his *Oath* is, the lesse is the sinne: So doe I say, That, when a man *Rebels*, the better his *Ground* is, whither it be *Religion* or *Gods Glory*, the worse is his *Rebellion*: because he goes about to lay that for a *Foundation*, which will never incorporate with any part of the *Superstructure* or *Building*. Nay, further then all this: If it should please *God* to give these men the grace of true *Repentance*, so that they should detest this unnaturall *Rebellion here*; and with unfeigned hearts should set themselves to the extirpation and rooting out of that *Rebellion there*; yet, in reason, were not the *prosecution* of that *Warre*, to be put into their hands, even then; because, in the *Traverses* of an uncertaine *Warre*, In those ordinary *reciprocations* and *retournes* of *Fortune*; In those *ebbings* and *flowings* of *Succeffe*, which are not the lesse naturall to great *Enterprizes*, because, lesse certain: There will fall out many particular emergent occasions, both for *Action* and *Councell*, *que, non dum fiunt laudantur, sed cum facta sunt*, as the *Orator* speaks: The *Succeffe* whereof, will much depend upon the *Secrecy*: and the greatest commendation that can be given the *doing* of them, is, that they are already *done*. Which *Councells* can never runne so cleare through a *Sieve*, as through a *Pipe*: where, many *Heads* have the conveying thereof, as where, but *one*. And therefore it was not a piece of *Pride* but *Policy*, in that great *Statef-man*, who would usually debate all his *Designes* of *Warre* amongst his *Councell*, but then, would be sure never to follow that *Advice*, which generally

generally was accounted for the *best*: because by long experience he had observ'd, that a *lesse Expedient*, accompanied with *secrecy* and *silence*, operated more in the wayes of *Advantage*; then a *greater Expedient*, expos'd to common *observation* and *knowledge*. And then let all the World Iudge, whither it stand with ordinary *Prudence* and *Reason*, to commit the *prosecution* of a *Warre* to their Hands, who doe now manage an *Actual* Warre against their owne Prince, and are in open Rebellion against Him; which ordinary *Wisedome* and *Discretion* would not entrust them with (as being a *Multitude*) if They should returne to their Subjection and Obedience.

IV. In the last place, observe their *inexorable obduration* and *deafnesse* against all *enlargement*, *prorogation*, or *reviving* of the *Treaty*. For being importun'd by the Kings Commissioners for an *Addition of Time* (that so, as they might give Fuller Answers to those Propositions of the Parliament if there were occasion; so they might hope to receive some kind of Answer to those Propositions of the King: of which some, received *no direct Answer*, and some, *no Answer at all*.) They kept them still in suspence, till the very *Twentieth Day*, that Day, when the Treaty was to break up, before ever They would give them Answer: And then they tell them, *That their Lordships having not given full and satisfactory answers concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, They cannot for those reasons expect an Addition of Time*: (A man would thinke, they should rather have given more time in hope of *Fuller Answers*: specially having nothing else to doe, but to receive the Homage of our Commissioners, as if they had come rather to *keep a Court*, then to *speed a Commission*.) Neither have they received any *Instructions* to continue this Treaty any longer then the *Twenty Dayes*, of which this is the last. Oh! the torment of having an ill Conscience, and hearing Reason! I dare say, never was any Cheater in the Pillory, gladder to see the Judges come from *Westminster*, then these ill men were to see the *Twentieth Day*, that was to redeem them from the cruelties of a convinced understanding! And yet, as your ordinary Players, when they cannot play that Comedy which was intended, because some

Full Narrati-
on, p. 148. n^o.
CXC V.

of their principall men of partes are drunke : will lay the fault on the Spectators, and say, the *House* or *Galleries* are not full : So these *Actors* of a *Peace* ; when they durst not continue the *Treaty* any longer, because of those *Overtures* that were made by our *Commissioners* concerning a *Cessation*, concerning the *Kings Returne to Westminster*, and concerning a present *disbanding of both Armies*, the very steame and ayre whereof, was able to turne the braines of this *Rebellion*, and to make it stagger ; They tell our *Commissioners*, that it seemes *We had resolved that the Treaty should end with the Twenty Dayes* ; the means to continue it, being so well knowne to be, a good *Progresse in the Propositions for Religion, the Militia, and Ireland* ; wherein they cannot find any *satisfaction that was intended by Us*, so be agreed unto. But when (as any man would imagine) did they tell them this ? Truly just, when the last instant of the *Twenty Dayes* was now expired ; After *Twelve a clock at night* ; when They were sure no *Answer* could be given, as part of the *Treaty*, without their *Consent* ; As if the *Rules of Treating* were like those of *Scolding*, and the simple *World* must needs imagine, that because They had the *last Word*, They had the *best Cause*. I must professe ingenuously, when I met with this particular, and compar'd it with the *drolleryes* of many of their other *Papers*, where meere *Fumes* are maintain'd like *Fortifications*, and so much *Reason*, as will hardly make a cracker, is mounted like some whole piece of *Canon* ; that must sweep and carry all before it ; I could not, on the suddain, satisfie my selfe, whither I were reading *Solids* or *Phancies* ; whither I had met with a *Relation* or a *Romance*. I could never heare any thing of the *Presbytery*, but me thoughts, it sounded like the report of some *Enchanted Castle*, which every *Knight* is bound by his *Adventure* to seeke, but knowes not where to find : For their *Commissioners* urge and presse Our *Commissioners*, ever and anon unto it : and yet never so much as offer them any particular *Idea*, visible *Forme*, or *Representation* thereof, whereby they might be enabled to passe their *Iudgement* and *Opinion* of it. I never could read their *Papers* concerning *Episcopacy*, but me thoughts, it lookt, like to some strange *Blacke-Knights*, that

Full Narrati-

on, p. 154. n^o.

CXC VII.

22. Feb.

that was much afflicted and oppressed, but *no body could know the Cause*: for I saw plainly, They were resolv'd to ruine it, *though they had no Reason*. And then, let the ground be never so disadvantageous, the Weapons never so unequall, the Quarrell never so unjust, or the Designe never so impossible: I found that the *Knight* did ever kill the *Giant*, as in all *Romances*. He is wont to doe: For let the Proposition be against *Law*, let it be against *Reason*, nay, let it be against *Religion*, all is one for that: and the *Parliament* is sure to have the better of the *King*.

But did Our Commissioners make no *good Progress* in their three Propositions as these men pretend? First, it is evident, *We* proceeded farther in *Their* Propositions, then *They* did in *Ours*; for, apprehending the businesse of that Meeting in its true and proper notion, as being intended rather for a *triall of Judgements*, then a *tickling of Humours*, Our Commissioners never returned Answer to their Papers, but such as was elemented and made up of *Reason* and *Conscience*, *Justice* and *Prudence*, which of necessity must satisfie, either wise men or good; whereas They rather gave *Excuses* then *Answers*, when They did give any; and sometimes They would not give so much as that: which I think was so farre from being *Satisfactory*, that it was not *Civill*. And doe these men accuse us of breaking up the Treaty by our *ill Progress* in their Propositions; when We had Propositions, (which They were to *Treat* on as well according to the Tenour of their own *Commission*,) wherein notwithstanding They made not so much as *any kind of progress* at all? Secondly, We conceive, (and so We doubt not but the wiser world will,) that the Commissioners on both sides, were to be reckoned on as *Parties*; who were mutually to make up this *good progress* between them, by their complying and co-operating Hands; and not as *Judges* for the *one* side to determine, whether that *were good* or no, which the *other* side had made; and therefore we think, there is no more reason on the one side, why our Progress on Their Propositions should be reckoned and accounted *no good Progress*, because *They* say it is not; Then there is on the other side, why it should not be reckoned and accounted a *good Progress*, because *We* say it is.

They y

They find themselves a little pinch't with this ; and therefore They produce a Reason against our good *Progresse*, which they doubt not, but will satisfie the World, (Then, truly must they serve the World, as they serv'd Vs at *Oxbridge*: suffer it onely to receive a *Paper*, and then, not suffer it to Returne an *Answer* ; for otherwise, there is roome enough for a *Reply*.) And that reason, is this : that, *For Religion We granted them very little or nothing, but what already They were in possession of by the Lawes of this Kingdome*. Should this which they allledge be true, certainly this were a strange Argument against us, to prove, that we made no good *Progresse* in their Propositions, because we granted little or nothing, but what they were already in possession of by Law ; For, if the defence of their *Lawes*, was one of the chiefe Ingredients that made the *Warre*, (as out of doubt it was, and foure yeares agoe, what other language did they speake ? wherefore did they take up Armes, but for the maintenance of *Religion*, their *Liberties*, and their *Lawes* ?) Assuredly, the bare Concession of the free use and benefit of those *Lawes*, is a signe of faire progression in the way to *Peace*. He that should have told the Souldier when he first took up Armes, that he was to fight for the making of *New Lawes*, and not for the maintaining of the *Old*, would, I believe, have found but very cold *Musters* ; But in few yeares, see, to what a *Contradiction of sinne* these Men are growne ; At first, They took up their Armes to compell and force the King to keep the *Lawes* ; and now, They are resolv'd by like, never to lay them downe againe, if He will not *Break them*. It is one of the Kings *Propositions* offered to them, That *whatsoever hath been done contrary to the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome, should be renounced and recalled*: and I dare presume, His Majesty would allow that for a good *Progresse* upon His Propositions, if the Parliament would but grant Him that ; nay, He would aske no more ; He would repose Himselfe in that, as the sole *Complement* of His Desires ; and yet, that very thing which the King would be contented to rely and rest on, as upon His *End* ; namely, That *nothing should be done contrary to the knowne established Law of this Land* ; That, will not the Parliament accept

of

of in the condition of a *good Progresse*, onely bending and leading thereunto. Truly, this *Allegation* of theirs, is so full of advantage, that I could almost wish it True: that is, I could wish our Commissioners had *not granted them*, so much as *very little*, but had granted them entirely *nothing at all*, but what they are in possession of already by Law; because I cannot well see, how they could grant it. But, what if all this which they alleadge be false? What if our Commissioners were so farre from granting them *very little*, but *what they were in possession of already by Law*, that they granted them *very much*? What if those particular Concessions, which were never yet established by Law, were more then those which were? Nay, what if it evidently be made appeare, that they never were by *Law of the Land* in possession of any the least of those *Concessions*, which our Commissioners offered unto them? I am so charitable in conceiving these men may have some Flesh in their Foreheads, that I hope the *Scottish* Commissioners (who must be a little *excus'd* for not being *Acquainted* with our Lawes, unlesse they had rather be *accus'd* for their *Acquaintance*) had the penning of this Paper, that was the *Staple* of the Treaty; because, although the words be *English*, yet the sence, is *Scottish*; But out of all doubt, there is not greater evidence of Light, then of this Truth; That of all those nine or ten *Concessions* which our Commissioners offered, upon the point of *Religion*, in the way of Reconciliation, and Advancement of a blessed Peace; There were none of them, but were the *Spawnes* of so many *New Lawes*: There was not one of them, to which the Church, and Church men were heretofore oblig'd, by any known established Law of the Kingdome, whatsoever. And now let all men Iudge of their *Faith* in other Testimonies, which cannot easily be reduc't to a convenient Teste: who dare thus abuse the World with *Falschood* in *This*, which lyes so open and obnoxious to a plaine and ordinary Tryall.

Secondly, For the *Militia*, they say, We made no *good* Full Narrati-
Progresse therein, and therefore were resolv'd, it seemes, the *Treaty should break up*; Because We thought it not fit to con-
 sent to any one of their *Demandes*, but made some new *Propo-*

sitions of our owne, which were not in any degree sufficient for the settling and securing of the Peace of both the Kingdomes. I did ever thinke, till now, that it was one thing to make a *Progresse*, and another thing, to make an *End*: Doe they say, We made no good *Progresse* in the *Militia*, because We consented not unto their whole *Demands*? They might altogether as properly say, that a Country-man travailing towards *London*, hath made no good *Progresse* in his Journey; because, He is not come as yet, to *Charing-Crosse*. Questionlesse a *Progresse* is made on their *Demandes*, when We Consent, but unto any part thereof, and the better that part is, that is consented to, the better is the *Progresse*. Now, if halfe of any Thing be a good part, then is our *Progresse* upon their *Demands*, a good *Progresse*; for We consented to the one halfe of every thing that was required. They demanded the Nomination of all the Commissioners: and We granted them the Nomination of halfe; They demanded the *Militia* for *Seaven* yeares: and We would have given them it, for *Three*. But I perceive, He grants them *nothing*, that does not grant them *all*; and it fares with the Parliaments *Demands*, as some report it does, in the fortunate Islands of *Arabia*, with the Peoples *Dayes*; They know not what belongs to *dawning*: They never see Day, till the whole *Sunne* appears unto them.

Besides, if Our Commissioners had made no better *Progresse*, then They pretend: if We had exhausted all those *Twenty* *Dayes* assigned for the Treating upon Their Propositions, in meeke *Tergiversation* and *Cavill*: if We had denyed Our Assent to all their *Demands*, and then had been never able to make good any colourable Reason for that Our *Denyall*; yet certainly, Their Originall *Commission* having a kind of *Counter part*, and they being authorized to Treat upon those *Three* Propositions offered by Us to Them: as well, as upon these other *Three*, offered by Them to Us: Reason and equity would, that an equall number of Propositions, should have been allow'd an equall number of *Dayes*: and then, if the Successes and Issues of both, had happily fallne out equally unprofitable, yet, no one side could have had just cause for to complain,

plaine, of the partiall and uneven proceedings of the other. And although We doe not urge it, as an Argument of *Insolence* and *Pride*, that Their Propositions must be Treated on, *in the first place*, before the Kings; yet, when the pretence of Our ill *Progresse* upon *Theirs*, is made a Reason of their *no Progresse* at all on *Ours*: We cannot but look upon this *Order* and *Disposall* of the *partes*, as an Argument of great *Inconvenience*, against a *Peace*: and which hath somewhat of the visage of an Affected and Studyed *Obstruction*, cast in the wayes thereof. For those *Three Propositions* of *Theirs*, if They had been denied at *Uxbridge*; yet, they might have been granted at *Westminster*, in a Full and Free Convention of Parliament; out of which I know not well, indeed, how They could be granted. But these *Three Propositions* of *Ours*, They, cannot be granted at *Westminster*, if They be denied at *Uxbridge*: unlessse you thinke it fit to perswade *one* man to lay downe the Bucklers, whilest *another* beats him. The Kings Proposition for a present *Cessation* in *England*, could not be settled, but in a *Treatie*; The Parliaments Proposition against the *Cessation* which was already past, in *Ireland*, might be settled, out of it; and yet, so enraged & incensed are these men against that *Cessation there*; that they will not endure the mention of any thing that sounds like it, *here*; as that impetuous *Emperour*, who, by witchcraft having learnt *three letters* of His name, that was afterwards to Succeed him; put every man to death whom he could lay hands on, that had those *three letters*, for the beginning of his Name. His Majesties *Returne to Westminster* (which Our Commissioners desired in the second place) could not be *Safe*, but as both Sides agree, *before He comes*: But *Episcopacy* (which their Commissioners desired to have abolisht) could not be, but *unsafe*, even *after his coming*: for if there be just Reason to take it away, *now*; there will be reason, *then*. And yet, so transported are they, with a passionate and eager pursuit of a thing, in the perswasion whereof both *Parties* professe they *differ*: that they will not admit Discourse, or *Treat* of another thing, wherein both *Sides* professe before hand, that They doe agree. Both *Armies* cannot

be *Disbanded* (according to that Demand of Ours) but *before* the King and Parliament doe meet: but the Power of the *Militia*, may be settled (according to that Demand of Theirs) *after* that Meeting; and indeed, there is but little reason, that this Power of the *Militia* should now come in projection in these *Times of Warre*: which must lye *Dormant*, as *Themselves* confesse, and not be put in *Execution*, till the *Time of Peace*. And yet, so violent are these Men in settling of a *Power*, which *must not be exercis'd*, but in the *Time of Peace*; That they will heare of no course, that may be taken in the meane time, for *dissolving* of the *Warre*: like ordinary People in a *Croude*; that will make such hast, *every man* to get *first* out of dores, that *no man* stirres. So that, upon viewing of the whole matter, We can cast all these obstacles and Impediments in the wayes of *Peace*, that arose out of this perverse Method of handling the Propositions, into no other Mould, but this, That They, *never intending to conclude a Peace*, resolved in the first place to Treat of *Their* Propositions, which they knew, no man with *Honesty* or *Conscience* could Grant; That, in the second place, they might with better colour avoyd the Treating upon *Our* Propositions, which they knew, no man with *Conscience* or *Honesty*, could offer to Deny.

And, if all this which hath bin said, be not enough to perswade with men of common understanding, that these *Rebels* never did *intend a Peace*, but that they purpose to make this *Warre*, which at first was their *Necessity*, now, become their *Trade* (for too many of them know not how to live without it) yet this *One Consideration* is sufficient to enforce them to beleife, if they will but weigh it well, and that is this: That, They never would allow the *Tender* and *Offer* of all those things, for *Overtures of Peace*; the *Stoppe* and *Obstruction* whereof, they themselves, ever professed, till now, was the greatest *Incentive* and *Occasion* of the *Warre*.

They took up Armes, for the *Liberty of the Subject*; to vindicate and to recover *that*; and yet, in all this Treaty, they never let fall so much as any one word or syllable, tending or bonding *thereminto*. They did well to set those words, [The

Liberty

Liberty of the Subject] in their *Banners*, so as they did; For all the World cannot but see, that they meant it for a *Flourish*; For, when the Kings Commissioners urged and pressed this point, of the *Liberty of the Subject* in many severall particulars, and desired, that *all illegal Power used over the Subject, as imprisoning, or putting him to death without Law; stopping of his Habeas Corpus, and imposing upon his Estate, without Act of Parliament* (the very grievances, which these men heretofore posselt the World they labour'd under; and therefore urg'd them to take up Armes, that so they might redresse them) *should from henceforth be utterly disclaimed*; They would never so much as admit of any Treaty thereof, or returne any colourable Answer concerning it.

Full Narrati-
on, p. 18. n^o.
VIII.
Prop. 3.

They took up Armes for *Defence* of their *Religion*; And yet, in all the *Twenty daies* of this whole *Treaty*, were never able to produce any one Article of *Doctrine*, avowed and established in the Church of *England*, wherein that Church had receded either from the *Truth*, or from *Herselfe*; And for points of *Discipline*; when the King offer'd in His Propositions, all ease to tender Consciences, in such particulars as should be agreed on by a *Nationall Synod* legally called; They would never heare thereof; but, put off the *Treating* of that Proposition, as they did the rest, with this uncivill Answer; That, *when the Houses of Parliament shall be satisfied in the good progresse of the Treaty upon their Propositions, concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, they will give time for the Treaty upon these Propositions sent by His Majesty*; In the point of which Satisfaction, they were resolved before hand, both to be *Parties* and *Judges*, as already hath appeared.

Full Narrati-
on, p. 141. n^o.
C. LXXXIV.

They have raised severall Armies, upon this very reason and ground, *To bring the King* (whom they pretended to be seduced by *Evill Councell*) *up unto the Parliament* (His great, and His good Councell, as the World must needs imagine) By meanes whereof, too much of *Christian Blood* hath been already shed, and, as yet, shed in vaine; (for by *Force*, They never yet were able to obtaine it) And They doe now *Refuse His Majesties willing Offer of Returne, or to Treat* of any

Faire meanes of *Accommodation*, in pursuit thereof, the onely *visible way* left under Heaven, by which They may effect it. And if They shall goe about, after all this, to Farce and fill the World with *Noyse* and *Clamour*, that They would have had a *Peace*, but the *King* would not. (as it is like they will) For my part, I shall leave off further *Perswasion*, and fall to *Prayer*; humbly beseeching *God*, who is the *Searcher of Hearts*, and knowes the *Spirits* of all Men ; To prosper on both Sides, those *Issues* and *Successes*, which They hope now to have, by *Warre*; according unto those upright *Intensions*, and unfeigned *Purposes*, which They then had, of *Peace*.

F I N I S.

~~327~~

327